

1: Nachtigall

SC15 Paez SC15

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● 824

/Information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in shamanistic curing ceremonies and seances will be filed in category 755./

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● 824

/For information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in the ritual purification rites following death, see category 783./

The house

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- 356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) consisting of shrubs of the psánga plant. This plant at the same time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept. In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp. 274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

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2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191, [302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

000 /129 cont./

35/ p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms.

In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276 /). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (āty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize
243 may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyúša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
 us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
 [789] kill a bear (éswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
 [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
 [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
 [128] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
 [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
 are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
 [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
 [752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
 [757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
 limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno),
 [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
 bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
 [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
 [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the
 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when
 human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
 come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
 do anything to several men together, however, since he could
 make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp
 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
 [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
 [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
 they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs su and áyuts, which
 they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
 [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
 part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
 he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
 have himself specially purified by the
 shaman before hunting.

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776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (?).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [37] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák =

[57] to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- is able to seize the bird. 224 Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait.

[462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic
● 824 of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total
171 of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

Among the Paez, fishing with

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● 824 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as community fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yūkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

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[726] The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pāt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).
[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the
[124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting: its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/146 cont. /

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista
they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the
Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence
of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador
and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[157] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in di-
ameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to
three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a
little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
• [324] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the
right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Never-
theless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches
above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving,
nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave
and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is
probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its
tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/147 cont. /

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

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● 824 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro, and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p. 279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

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[462] Men and women employ different techniques to obtain thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v.

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[171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

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283 of spindle lies east of the Andes, in Mojos and in eastern Ecuador.
 171 The Bakaïri spindle, also designated as the "Andean drop spindle," is characterized by a conical thickening at its lower end. The whorl is slipped onto the spindle staff from above and cannot slide off, since by the Bakaïri method spinning is done only in a vertical position. The upper end of the spindle is often provided with a notch or a hook. In principle the thread is formed at the upper, longer end of the spindle shaft, in other words, exactly the opposite of the Bororo spindle. The area of distribution of the Bakaïri type is a very large one; it occurs throughout the Andean area, as well as in the Venezuelan and Brazilian forest region.

283 The spindles of the Paez (wágat; as wool spindle: káswagat) and their spinning methods cannot be said to belong strictly to either the Bororo or the Bakaïri type, since they contain elements of both. The unadorned spindle shaft is uniformly about three millimeters thick, the whorl (nyít) may either be absent or is slipped on very artlessly in the form of a crudely carved, disc-shaped bone or wood disk. Not infrequently a piece of an ear of maize, a potato, or a bean pod will serve as a whorl substitute. The spindle is held in different ways. It may hang down free perpendicularly, with the tip in perpendicular position resting on a support (upper thigh), or it is held horizontally in the air or even with the lower part upward /149/ (Ills. 179 to 180 /see p. 280 /). The position of the spindle does not depend on whether agave fiber or wool is spun, but rather it seems to be

171 arbitrary. Whereas these characteristics point to Bakaïri spinning, at least insofar as the spindle is held downward without support, the way the thread is made and its being wound temporarily on the lower, shorter part of the spindle are characteristic of Bororo spinning, although its typical fork-shaped support, with the spindle held horizontally, is absent here. Among the Paez, the spindle is worked with the right hand. The left plucks the fibers and forms the thread. The women can sit, stand, or walk during this. Insofar as it is a matter of working with sheep wool, the women are in the habit of spinning it chiefly on the way to the

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28/ centimeters in width. Two rods corresponding to the breast beam and warp beam (pšategwe) for the vertically stretched warp threads (yáhawes) are tied horizontally to the forked frame with bark bast (Fig. 35 /see p. 257/).

For weaving by the method used by the Paez, a special warping device, which otherwise, in weaving with a spiral warp, is required in some form for the preparatory stretching of the warp threads, becomes superfluous. The Paez weaving is done neither according to the method of the continuous circular warp nor according to the method of the terminating flat warp, but constitutes a mixture of both in the form of the so-called "false spiral warp." The warp threads run circularly around the breast and warp beams and form two planes, one below and one above the beams. They are not, however, stretched spirally, but like a parallel warp. They are fastened by means of a small horizontal stick around which the first warp thread is wound with a loop. This then runs all the way around the frame to the horizontal stick again, passing over the latter from back to front, and going back again around the frame in the opposite direction. Alternating in this fashion, all the warp threads are stretched to the desired width. After the last warp thread has passed around the horizontal stick, it is knotted and immediately used as the first weft thread.

The weaving is done according to the method of the simple rod weaving. The texture is always the texture of linen. Instead of a regular shed rod and heddle rod, loops of bast or agave fiber constitute the aids for the mechanical shed formation. The shed loop (batsnés) grasps warp threads 1, 3, 5, 7, etc. together; the heddle loops (nyúgwe) grasp the warp threads of the even numbers singly in one long loop each, and they in turn are tied together at the top. The mechanical shed formation is done by alternately raising the shed loops and the heddle loops (Ill. 182 /see p. 281 /).

• [824] The shuttle (bánka) consists merely of a wound ball of thread; the sword (kyíta) is carved from the hard wood of the chonta palm pointed at both ends, and semicircular in cross-section.

As a result of the way they are stretched, the warp threads in /157/ their entirety may be drawn around the horizontally lashed tension rods during the weaving, so that the piece being woven

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286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.

• 824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of
clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.

[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which,
however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[299] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized
by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into
the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in
the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics
black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for
about two hours, along with the leaves of the sal tree or the
zôte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the
leaves of a *Phyllanthus*) and then buried for two days and two
nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth
(*ašáktič*). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly,
and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and water-
proof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing,
which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the
desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market
in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their
stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton
purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making
women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

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The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue = séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (skítç), with the leaves of the mūzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

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The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítç) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearth-stones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting

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the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor

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finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tōka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

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The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barter his pots chiefly for wool.

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The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
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- 463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the un-
mixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly
moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground
an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with
the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals.
They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so
that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills.
184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots
dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place
where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very
close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them
burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

- 388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
[462] They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[824] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laúrel
(Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about
five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great
masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck
off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put
in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they
are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught
in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial
product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax
is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

- 389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
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389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
[22] the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
[29] whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[43] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they
then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send
their children far away and do not let them go to the whites,
because they believe that the latter would catch them in order
to make powder from them.

• 824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes),
while two, one over the other, are used for the larger fire-
crackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which
consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long,
filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three
parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo
splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the fire-
cracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle
and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among
the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since
there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying
trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-
contained household economy predominates, and whatever one
family does not have it barter for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial
products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held
regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary
articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades,
machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/185 cont. / In any

844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndōsoknās) is
[757] fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She
has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only
for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched be-
fore the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always
comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man
or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she
receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case
she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are
in the dúyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands
she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the
dúyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and
he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a
way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that
the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother
must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can
be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which
she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is
first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is
not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread,
[824] with the sharp-edged cane of a type of feed. The father may see
his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays
with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dúyat. The
afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried
near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not
be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but
not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth
until very late and only with great
difficulty.

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696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender⁶ is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.

• [824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two
notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person
is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow
[623] notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work.
Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the
council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward
and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were
no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the
number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly,
24 hours.

536 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their
animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the
person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and
a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there
is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expres-
sions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a
machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting,
is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out
with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but
not very severely."

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

• [824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section.

[764] Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads

[774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa

[755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through

[787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's
773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was law-giver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief

[776] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and tafi, with which everyone is familiar, although
 776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
 753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same;
 but both of them also said that üns or tafi, if they had left the
 person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tüs, ec,
 or nyic without the person's becoming aware of this immediately,
 but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this
 case üns and tafi were probably different, they did not know how
 [775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his üns goes to
 heaven and the person himself becomes tafi. He and other teyu
 756 were able to catch the üns of a human being. Thus, for example,
 774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
 754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring
 forth the üns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
 [783] then die. In order to get the üns in his power, he must first cleanse
 [824] his hands with the herbs ñu and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy.
 [276] The üns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly
 and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar
 to a firefly in appearance, but different from ec.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
 754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
 756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
 [124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us
 that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic, which, to be sure, he
 had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given
 himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
 [682] kill the üns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say
 that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other
 food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the
 sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner:
 The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santísima /Holy
 Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father
 himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills
 people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as
 Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/275 cont./

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
[828] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
774 and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and ex-
periences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the
person dies, üns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the
upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by
way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form
of a human being with white clothing. Whereas üns goes to heaven,
taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth,
although not as taff, but as shimos (ghost). It can be seen by the
shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around
two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the
wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a
wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where
the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the üns leaves
the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It
leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.

755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the üns of a dying person by blow-
775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
763 of the herbs čáyuts and šuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
• [824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms
from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back üns. Taff leaves
the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can
see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is
able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged
reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill.
199 /see p. 288 /).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
[829] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent
reason. Whereas üns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
769 on living in its house as shimos in the form of a breath of air. (No
accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following
December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each
year, the relatives offer to the shimos of their dead their favorite

/280 cont. /

755 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the
756 patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the
patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The
shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal
herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being
transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into
the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he
does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accord-
• [824] [787] -ance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/
brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his
shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign;
if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On
the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel,
likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent
the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He
now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew.
Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs.
From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient
that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from
the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama,
and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash
of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat,
once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into
his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about
an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient
does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the
[783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He
will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a
good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca
leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition,
[177] [186] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take
any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for
otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others,
the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the
place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go
wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the
only characteristic of their experience.

/288 cont. /

756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the
pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman,
wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick.
During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and,
to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly
like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the
shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the
ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes
covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the
teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move
off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the
shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the
dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle be-
side them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a
/284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the
house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering
and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten
jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as
remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
● (824) hole into which he places the herbs šu and kulápe. On a small
pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries
out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts
a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter
does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here
any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this
were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

/284 cont. /

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each
type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer
it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full
of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all
the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance,
and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse
them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been
cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product
to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who,
in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good
and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry
out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are
convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil
machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for
only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one
who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since
the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good
shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the
evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his
youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already
familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/285 cont. /

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only
possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil
sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose
and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It
came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be
caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after
night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one
night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The
shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a power-
ful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up
over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way.
Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his
signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He
immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep
sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people
who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and
asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal.
He then strewed çayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no
longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter
a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They
bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars.
The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first
cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the
bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman
immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed
packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the
nyic. The nyic digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order
to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a
lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyic gives it a
powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it
is supposed to die very quickly, the nyic throws strongly efficacious
herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he
has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so
distended that he dies. If the nyic sprinkles lime over the soul, the
person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero
(Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging
smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of
the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death.
The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero
(Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the
activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without
the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village com-
munity can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal
abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyic, the
tūs, ec, and gelyōmp spirits and turn them into something good.
His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what
has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but
his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts
future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/288 cont. /

534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (cingalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderêta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which [P24] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The 322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth; and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

/289 cont. /

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the 322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my 534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days [578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival [796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking [273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.

[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were [194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves.

[463] Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At [463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only [461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture

amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from [824] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of [237] calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

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- 147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, a wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.
- 516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.
- [544] Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen
481 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —
- [552]
- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>kan-kik</i> | <i>ji-kik-ne</i> | <i>via-i</i> |
| <i>kik-futs</i> | <i>gunc-handi</i> | <i>to-fits</i> |
- and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.
- REPRODUCTION AND DEATH
- 881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 236 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We 595 know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, 581 that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very [586] frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *ats*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsna*) the like of which is found among the Kitsua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gyncrium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers. [297-276]

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-ats*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *ats-lul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spats*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1). [482]

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gunc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i ann las que no lo son*). Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color [301-554-291-302-824]

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342 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
 [124] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
 515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *ats-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.

[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *tilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
 [182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *jal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Casalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nitse*, a Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Gouipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.

[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escape my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

342 The Paezes have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

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192 *peni*

[601] *peni + kut*

pi

pi + nái-tain (T) }

pi + nu-te (H) }

pi + náti (T) }

pi + nuti-kut (H) }

pets (H)

pets-xlta

pian dlan usla

pikas

● [824] *pindo*

pinab

pipto

pipto + knicia (T) }

pipto + knicia (H) }

[177] *pisko* (H), *pi-pi* (T)

pitika

piid

piind (T) }

[824] *piind + a* (H) }

piind + a-ián (H) }

piind + bits (T) }

plán (T)

plán + debéh

plán + d-lts

plán + kák

plán + káts

plán + éshéx

[824] *piu*

puil

old, when speaking of a female—

Cast. : (*e-penti*)

old woman, grandmother

sister of a brother

elder sister of a brother

younger sister of a brother

sweat

throat

half

beam

Gynerium saccharoides, a tall grass used in making hats

Alnus sp., the South American alder

bijao (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant

dwarf plantain

turkey (Span. : *himbo*, or *chum-pipe*); both Paez words are derived from the Kittua

a variety of large tick—Cast. : *guakó*

sheep—Cast. : *kapila*

guava tree (*Psidium guajava*)

guava, fruit

plantain

manzana, a variety of banana

ripe plantain

baked plantain

plantain peel

boiled plantain

shade—Cast. : *pnasé*

Tropaeolum tuberosum, a plant with edible tubers

PITTIER]

NOTES ON PAEZ INDIANS

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<i>pis</i>	strong (in flavor)	192
<i>lal</i>	<i>Phyllanthus</i> sp., a small euphorbiaceous tree, the leaves of which give a black dye	[386]
<i>sutdm</i>	iron	[824]
<i>sch</i>	sun — Cast.: <i>itaki, tuki</i> ; <i>sch</i> also signifies dry season, and heat of the sun	
<i>limb</i> (T), <i>don</i> (H)	young, half-grown maize, just before tasseling	
<i>limbe</i>	puma — Cast.: <i>li</i>	
<i>listen</i>	heap	
<i>listen</i> + <i>apma</i> (Cast.)	to be heaped — <i>ap</i> = all	
<i>llal</i>	a passion flower the fruits of which are edible	
<i>soná</i>	<i>Stylanthus guianensis</i> , a plant	
<i>sá</i> (T)	sister-in-law — Cast.: <i>ne-sáw</i>	
<i>sá-wá</i> }		
<i>sus-tá</i>	belly — Cast.: <i>to-ti</i>	
<i>lam-pu</i> (H)	navel — Cast.: <i>lamé</i>	
<i>llá-pando</i> (H)	broom	
<i>llu-háfi</i> (H), <i>tháfz</i> (H)	hole	
<i>lull</i> (H), <i>tsot</i> (T)	<i>Ullucus tuberosus</i> , a plant with edible tubers	
<i>tá, tá</i>	mountain — Cast.: <i>atá</i>	
<i>ta-á/a</i>	mountain group, mountain range (<i>serranía</i>)	
<i>lámbuá</i> (H), <i>llám</i> (T)	* occiput	
<i>ldux</i>	strap	
<i>let</i>	calabash used as a plate or cup	
<i>titi, titi-iat</i> (H)	wall	
<i>topat</i>	blow-gun — Cast.: <i>rito-pat</i> ; Span.: <i>hodoquera</i>	[411]
<i>tipi-tápiá</i>	clean, free of obstruction	
<i>tsáfz</i> (H)	upper-arm	

<i>tludtl</i>	louse, a very large variety called <i>caringano</i> by the Spanish natives — Cast.: <i>el-guati</i> 192
<i>tsui</i> (T), <i>úkuia-pits</i> (H)	husband — Cast.: <i>nemi</i> [601]
<i>tsufi</i>	woman's breast — Cast.: <i>kiki</i>
<i>tukut-tsí</i>	<i>Relbunium hypocarpium</i> , a plant the roots of which give a red dye [386] [324]
<i>tulú</i> (H)	plantain — Cast.: <i>toló</i> ; see also <i>plán</i>
<i>tulú + kak</i>	baked plantain
<i>tulú + káts</i>	plantain peel
<i>tulú + kuixa</i>	boiled plantain
<i>tulú + its</i>	ripe plantain
<i>túng-na</i> (H), <i>tú-ue</i> (T)	ear — Cast.: <i>tógnue</i>
<i>túng-na + káts-iaka</i> (H)	ear-ache
<i>túng-na + rits</i> (H)	ear-lobe
<i>túng-ut-íeki</i>	earring
<i>túe-kafz</i> (T)	vent hole
<i>túpa</i>	spider
<i>túta</i> (H)	first
<i>uáka</i>	crab
<i>uála</i>	large, high, tall — Cast.: <i>gula</i>
<i>uán-dziáns</i> (H)	fishhook
<i>uása-kua</i> (H), <i>guása-ko</i> (T)	daughter, girl [601]
<i>uáts-to</i> }	tired
<i>uátt-fa</i> }	
<i>uá-tsa</i>	necklace
<i>uéli</i>	parroquet
<i>uense</i>	agouti (<i>Dasyprocta</i> sp.) Span. <i>cutacusa</i>
<i>uentsl</i>	fish — Cast.: <i>gneundi</i>
<i>uentsl + pátsi</i>	a large, iguana-like lizard
<i>uts</i> (H), <i>guás</i> (T)	earthworm — Cast.: <i>gues</i>
<i>uts + kúe</i>	thread
<i>ut-ue-nié</i> (H)	voice, word
<i>utza</i>	wind — Cast.: <i>pneuma</i> !

/307 cont./

*539
772
781

25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

26. Origin of the Plants

*539
● 824

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[825]
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/198 cont. /

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796

Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

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The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [756] [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[4/5]

The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388

To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

St Bernal Villa

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● 824

[For information on the various herbs and other pharmaceuticals used by the shaman in curing and purification ceremonies, see categories 755 and 783.]

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot,
756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or
[127] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when
the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies re-
ceived from the patient and pass it around in the same way
as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and
Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies
which he presented to him not long before. . He picks up the
tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama"

/see pp. 17-18 /.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient,
for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the
[276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this
case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca,
or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless
remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then,
and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder,
to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but
in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before
putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that
it will protect him from the ptans.

[924] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which
[76 3] he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats,
it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is
an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small cala-
bash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig
/229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the
ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to
chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained
on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

* /234 cont. /

756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted
their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied
them to others and noted that they soon regained their health.
With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in
the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

* 755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."

● 824 Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 oodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted
more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punish-
ment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that
sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon
taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither
general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have
natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by
sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

- a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."
- b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.
- c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.
- d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.
- e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.
- f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.
- g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.
- h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.
- i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

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<u>Native Name</u>	<u>Spanish Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Use</u>
<u>Chandur</u>	...	?	Cooling. Used to clean away <u>ptans</u> . There are two varieties. The large one is called: <u>nusha</u> .
<u>Esh</u>	Coca	<u>Erythróxydon</u> <u>/Erythroxydon/</u> <u>coca.</u>	Boiled roots and leaves: colic and diarrhea.
<u>Bichach</u>	Caucho /rubber/	Hevéa?	Leaves roasted in embers for fractures, dislocations, contusions. The dry leaf is removed and placed on cabuya tops for rapid healing.
Chulco	Chulco	<u>Oxális sp.</u>	Against smallpox.
<u>Chayuts*</u>	Contento, Alegría /sesame/	<u>Scutellaria ra-</u> <u>cemosa</u> Per.	Panacea of the Paez.

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/239 cont./

<u>Native Name</u>	<u>Spanish Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Use</u>
Small <u>chuwet</u>	?	?	To propitiate streams.
<u>Fisa</u> , bitopat	Dodoquero	?	In combination with <u>yukchacha</u> and <u>montaña barbasco</u> , it is used to treat blennorrhagia.
<u>Echiutse chime</u> *	?	Labiada?	Against the pest. Bathing with this herb wards off Echi, especially when traveling at night.
<u>Guepekás</u>	Pringamoza. Ortiga /nettle/.	<u>Urera boccifera</u> L.	Wards off <u>ptans</u> . Used for sorcery.
<u>Kuese</u>	Barbasco de lo caliente	Lonchocárpus?	In winter it is blown into the air to make summer come. Used against <u>chande</u> (scabies).

5:Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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/239 cont./

<u>Native Name</u>	<u>Spanish Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Use</u>
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopogon citratús.	Infusion with panela and <u>aguardiente</u> against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Nica	?	?	For combatting <u>ptans</u> . For hair of ghost.
<u>/240/</u> <u>Nundayuskei</u>	Pateperro	?	Against <u>ptans</u> . The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle <u>/candela/</u> to help allay the illness.
<u>Shu*</u>	?	<u>Sphagnum sp.</u>	For combatting <u>ptans</u> .
<u>Shugués*</u>	?	<u>Peperomia sp.</u>	For cleaning away <u>ptans</u> .

SiBernal Villa--26 E-6 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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/240 cont./

<u>Native Name</u>	<u>Spanish Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Use</u>
<u>Shulape</u>	?	?	Against <u>echi</u> and for coughing.
<u>Shupeñiñ*</u>	?	<u>Peperomia</u> sp.	<u>Echi</u> and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
<u>Muahi</u>	Tabaco	<u>Nicotiana</u> <u>tabacum</u> L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting <u>ptans</u> .
Tap.	?	?	See <u>Bichach</u> .
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (<u>us</u>) when a child is frightened. Against <u>ptans</u> .
Tayuskei*		<u>Peperomia</u> sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

5:Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1963) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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/240 cont./

5 Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

<u>Native Name</u>	<u>Spanish Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Use</u>
Ul rin*	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almizclillo	<u>Hibiscus</u> <u>abelmoschus</u> L.	<u>Ptrans</u> , <u>echi</u> , rainbow.
Yacuma blanca		?	<u>Ptrans</u> .
Umsim*	Yacuma negra	<u>Myrcia acuminata</u> DC. Vell aff.	Against the rainbow.
Yuskel*		<u>Scleria cattarinensis</u> Boeck.	<u>Ptrans</u>

/241/

- 824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Útiles
de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez
Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in
1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose
is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents
it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended
to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
* 756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[73] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly
decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred.
The curer is the only one who can do this.

241- The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
* 756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also de-
fends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
* 756 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
789 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní
182 de montafia /literally, "montafia peanut"/, chewed and blown
on the path by which they were to come.

/258 cont. /

754 Methods of sorcery. There are various procedures for
774 practicing sorcery:

/259/ a) The one most widespread and about which the most information is provided consists of digging a hole and waiting over it for the soul of the victim. It arrives, giving off light like a candle. At once the sorcerer hits it with the tama, and it falls into the hole. It is at his disposal; he can bury it, whip it, blow remedies or mambe upon it, show it harmful objects.

When a quick death is desired, the sorcerer buries the soul with bad remedies, tamping it down vigorously with earth from the cemetery. The soul comes out with a whistling sound when the person dies.

754 It may also be whipped with the following remedies:

774 Bao* (Araceae). The victim's stomach swells until he dies.

● 824 Borrachero (Datura sp.). Poisonous narcotic. The victim goes mad.

Cabuya (Agave sp.). The juice of the leaves is caustic. The victim rots away.

Caspi* (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze). Poisonous shrub whose emanations cause irritation of the skin. The person swells up and dies.

Chuwet in Spanish, called estancadera (Krameria ixíña?) by the whites. It has pointed leaves, which, when brought into contact with the soul, stab the person.

Lechero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), poisonous plant. The victim bursts.

Pringamoza. The hairs of this member of the Urticaceae enter the body, and when they reach the heart, the victim dies.

754 The sorcerer can blow mambe on the soul, leaving the
774 person blind, or drive him insane by moving toward it a deer skull with an echi inside.

He can also prick it with the bones and hair of porcupines, snake bones, claws of the swift parakeet, and talons of eagles.

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./

24/ the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that
virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent
the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks,
streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a
lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there
that the harvest yields the most, but, it is very harmful, since
it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds
the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

24/ The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/
do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the
grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest;
then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be
noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at
eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately
one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact,
as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make
fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are
driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are
woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means
of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side.
These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult
spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

24/ In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into
lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the moun-
tainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of
leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes,
a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to
live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions
in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February,
March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/308 cont. /

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in
the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other
species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same
ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plant-
ings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any
suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/
as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys
and even women participate. In about six months the dry and
yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call
descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the
tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
● [324] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the
ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to
house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá),
which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also
enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their
shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go
around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built,
from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious
people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such
cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protec-
tion thus has a magical character (13).

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
[225] the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[571] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which
nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species
of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
/328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and
streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During
Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is
strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during
the months of January and February and generally in months of
drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/.
● 824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy
of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas,
Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The pro-
duction of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that
permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says --
by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in.
In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load.
The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says
that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000
arobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business.
What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from
Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The
chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali.
The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

291
177 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with [293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of [415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Pdez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When [292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash, [482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguez*. In traveling, a [854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin. [292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Pdez* and *Moguez* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven [462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who [292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of [824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (*fique*) 283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (*fique*) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

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with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415
824
[314]
[727]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325
[306]
[532]
[135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324
182
149
322
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Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, top). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286
[177]
[462]
[386]

- 286
[386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."
[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

- 411
[824] Weapons.—For weapons, the Pdez used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones
[171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the Chibcha, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The Pdez quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives.
[177] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.
[223] Today the Pdez use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

- 354
[372] Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.
[177]

- 354
824
[388] Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The Pdez use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

- 438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit
[435] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a
[804] chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in
[273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the